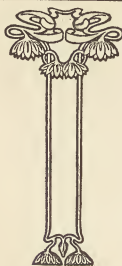


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# The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage  
29 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. I  
No. 1



Woman and Government

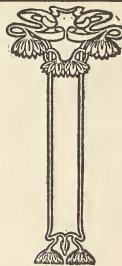
Suffrage Successes  
Due to Default

Suffrage  
and the Liquor Traffic

Militancy in England  
and at Home

Women Do Not  
Want Vote in West

MAY  
1912



Subscription, \$1.00 a Year

Single copies, 10 cents

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29 West 39th Street, New York City

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## MILITANCY OF THE AMERICAN SUFFRAGETTE.

**Leaders Declare that Bombs, Firearms and Brute Strength Must Force the Vote For Woman—Arguments Useless, They Declare.**

That the American suffragists have taken a leaf from the note-book of their English sisters, if not the entire book, is made quite evident by the recent utterances of their leaders.

For instance, there is the recent address in Philadelphia of Dr. Anna Howard Shaw. It was a call to arms of the suffragettes, in which she proposes to force the ballot for women by brute strength. She believes arguments to be of little avail. If necessary, she is quoted as saying, she would fill the jails with twentieth century women so long as enough women were left at liberty to keep up the fight. In her address she declared unequivocally for "Militant suffrage for America."

Dr. Shaw declares there is but one way to stop the supercilious airs and the sneers of the scoffers of suffrage—

with the club wielded by women with such vengeance that it will leave a mark wherever it may land. A great part of the wrath of Dr. Shaw is aimed at the lawmakers in Washington. It was after her visit there recently in behalf of the suffrage movement that she came to the conclusion that the Senators in the United States should be treated by the women as are the members of the House of Lords of England. She justifies her advice in these words:

"If we are played with, made fun of, just tolerated, greeted with supercilious smiles by members of Congressional committees, there is nothing for us to do but to resort to militant methods. We hope we will not be driven to measures as severe as those used in England, but, if it does come, the daughters of old English sires will be ready to suffer here as women are suffering in England."

Miss Inez Milholland is no whit behind Dr. Shaw when it comes to militancy. In a recent address before a conference of Baptist ministers at the Madison Avenue Baptist Church, Miss Milholland

declared that she was entirely in sympathy with the riotous methods of the London suffragettes.

"What do you think of the London suffragettes?" she was asked.

"I think they are entirely justified. \* \* \* Our membership always increases and the money pours in after one of the demonstrations."

The clergyman asked:

"What do you think about Christianity? Does it count at all when you're smashing windows?"

"No," answered Miss Milholland, looking him straight in the eye, "nothing counts but votes for women."

At a meeting at the Metropolitan Temple, New York, in March, Elizabeth Freeman, of England, said:

"I had a woman say to me the other night, 'I believe in protest, I believe in fight. Why don't you get rid of the men?' 'Get rid of Asquith and Lloyd George and Churchill,' said this young woman to me."

Don't you dare judge those British

(Continued on page 12.)

# Suffragist and Feminist.

## 1.—TYPES OF THE NEWEST WOMAN.

BY HAROLD OWEN.

The task I propose to undertake in a short series of articles is a very simple one. It is not primarily a controversial task, but an informative function, being merely to show how suffragism merges into feminism and then at what feminism aims. In nothing that I have to say about feminism will the question of votes for women directly appear. It is true that it will be in the background all the time, but as feminism is all the time in the background of suffragism I cannot be held responsible for the composition of the picture. I propose, indeed, to look beyond the vote, and to regard it even as achieved, in order to show what is the real aim and spirit of the woman's movement.

The first thing to do, obviously, is to show by what gradations, and then at what point suffragism merges into feminism, and I cannot do that better than by beginning at the beginning and first taking the most rudimentary form of suffragism, which is expressed by what I may call the maternal view; and a representative view of this form is in turn expressed by Lady Selborne:

"People sometimes talk as if women who desired to vote therefore desired to do everything that men do, whether they were fitted by nature for the occupation or not. Let me assure them that this is not so. A very large number of us are perfectly sensible of the limitations our sex places upon us. . . . We are quite content to be wives and mothers. We recognize that that is the profession for which we are most fitted. It contains enough to interest, and enough opportunity of usefulness, to satisfy any one's aspirations, and the woman who hankers after other professions in preference to this pre-eminently important one has not, in our judgment, got a right sense of the true value of things."

### MILITANT AND FEMINIST.

Next we have the militant suffragist, who really connects us at a bound with the feminist, for the difference between the suffragist and the feminist is merely one of expediency and tactics. She is "the practical politician," and wants the vote first as the instrument of woman's enfranchisement, and after the vote is secured is content to say that we shall see what we shall see. And Mrs. Pankhurst herself provides a representative statement of this grade of suffragist. Asked by an interviewer whether she thought that "the logical end" of her campaign was that women would sit in Parliament and become Cabinet Ministers, she replied, "I am a practical politician, and have not much time for speculation."

The next grade is the feminist herself, and Mrs. Billington Grieg may be called as a witness for feminism, for it is her intellectual honesty that supplies the con-

necting link between the concrete political demand of suffragism and the spirit, aim and creed of feminism. And after we have passed Mrs. Billington Grieg we are admitted within the portals that disclose to us the feminism of boundless horizons and of limitless possibilities for good or ill, according to your creed.

But for the time being we need go no further than Mrs. Billington Grieg, to whom the tactical equivocations of the suffragist seem contemptible, and to whom the spectacle of Mrs. Pankhurst parrying such an elementary question as whether women are going to get into Parliament seems altogether unedifying. "We decidedly do not want to limit ourselves," she has said in one place, "to the false simplicity of a plea for 'such a little thing as a vote.' We want a great deal more than that, and everybody knows we do." And again, "Women must face the music of their freedom on the platform of unprivileged common humanity. They have claimed rights—they must abandon privileges."

### TACTICS AND INDISCRETION.

Now, from the point of view of truth and honesty, Mrs. Billington Grieg is absolutely right. She merely expresses what the tactical suffragist conceals. But from the point of view of tactics she may have been imprudent. For the suffragist is quite right to begin to walk before she begins to run. Mrs. Billington Grieg says, in effect, "Never mind talking so much about the vote. Begin to say something about what you are going to do with it when you've got it!" And the suffragist is quite right, from her point of view, to reply, "Sh—sh! for goodness sake! Wait till we've got it!" For she knows that the vote is the key of the whole situation, not alone for its specific power but for the impetus and sanction it would give to the whole movement.

The instinct of the suffragist is therefore right on the larger, wider tactical ground. And it is also right on the narrower ground of immediate expediency. For Mrs. Billington Grieg has judiciously revealed that "ism" of which suffragism is the embryonic form; and that honest process has made it extremely difficult for the suffragist to claim votes for women on the ground that to record a vote will merely give a little healthy pedestrian exercise to women once every three or four years. For she has shown that "there is a good deal more than that" in the movement.

In a series of articles that appeared on this page last year Mrs. Billington Grieg said:

"Full opportunity for women, equal work, with apprenticeship and training facilities, are antagonistic to wife maintenance. The new demands and the old condition cannot subsist together. But the abolition of the old condition must place upon the very women who make the new demands a heavy burden—the burden of personal economic independence. If this burden is shouldered there is hope."

And both the suffragist and the feminist reach the same conclusion; the economic independence of woman. This doctrine is,

of course, inseparable from the whole position of the suffragist movement—it is the first logical consequence of the vote granted to woman on the logical ground of woman's equality. Mary Wollstonecraft recognized that logical necessity and consequence in her "Vindication of the Rights of Woman"; and Mill himself also affirmed it seventy-five years later, for he said that the freedom of woman was inseparable from her "power" to earn her own living; and the only development of that postulate in modern feminism is the recognition of the impracticability of a woman having a "power" which becomes atrophied and useless by disuse, and which, when in abeyance, leaves her still dependent on man.

### EQUALITY OF THE SEXES.

So the modern suffragist is by no means in advance of her creed when she is prepared to give up wife maintenance as the price for woman suffrage, even though she regards it as a price, but sees that the direct logical consequence of woman's enfranchisement from the dominion of man is that she should, at any rate, not be dependent on one whom it is the essence of her creed to regard as no better than herself. And, as the feminist is merely the suffragist with the courage of her logic, she naturally affirms, rather than accepts, the doctrine of the economic independence of woman.

The only difference, indeed, between one and the other in this respect is that the suffragist accepts it as the logical consequence of the vote, and the feminist insists upon it as the essential condition of "equality" and the very sign and justification for the plea of equality. The suffragist and the feminist, in fact, are as really different people. They are merely in different stages of growth, but both incarnate the same principle—that principle being the complete equality of woman with man, shown and realized by her complete economic independence of him. And so, though the suffragist might get out of the coach whilst the horses were being changed at the half-way house of economic independence, feminists know that she would find herself ready by the time the coach started again to take her place, as a feminist and go to the journey's end.

And so we also may rely upon that, and can assume that the suffragist has developed into the full-fledged feminist, and that the vote is won and the price duly paid. And we can now follow the feminist, incarnating suffragism and the whole woman's movement, and take a peep into the land of promise to which she is beckoning her sisters.

**EDITOR'S NOTE:**—Mr. Owen's articles are appearing first in *The London Daily Chronicle*. They have attracted so much attention that they are well worth repeating. One of these articles will appear with each issue of **THE WOMAN'S PROTEST**.

The following articles by Mr. Owen will be presented: "Our Life as a Parasite," "The Live Your Own Life Creed," "Back to Nature," and "And the Newest Morality."]



# The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage  
29 West 39th Street, New York City.

President, MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE - New York  
Secretary, MRS. MORGAN G. BULKELEY - Hartford, Conn.  
Treasurer, MRS. ROBERT GARRETT - Roland Park, Baltimore

Vol. 1 MAY, 1912 No. 1

Application has been made to the Post Office at New York, for admission as second-class matter.

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

## THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION.

THE National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was organized in November, and is composed of the different State organizations. Its object is to bring together, under one committee, representatives from the State associations, thus securing co-operation and a similar policy, to assist in organizing associations in States where they do not exist, to form public opinion by the distribution of literature, and to give information through the pages of "The Woman's Protest" of the movement against suffrage throughout the country.

It does not intend to dictate the policy or direct the details of work to any of the State associations, believing that the women of each community can judge best what is necessary or expedient, but it hopes to co-operate whenever there is a request for assistance.

The women who are leading the movement against suffrage are well known for their work in municipal, civic, educational and philanthropic lines. Because of their knowledge of what can be done without the vote they regard the franchise as a non-essential for them, and consider that their efforts for the amelioration of the conditions of women and children can be better accomplished without suffrage.

We believe that the great majority of women in this country are either against woman suffrage or entirely indifferent to it. The largest claim that the suffragists have made is, that one-tenth of the women have put themselves on record in their various organizations. The ninety per cent. who have not should have some channel through which to express their opinions, and the associations formed in the different States have been organized with this end in view. There is also a large demand all over the country for arguments against woman suffrage, and "The Woman's Protest" will endeavor to reach communities where it is not expedient to hold meetings nor to send speakers. We are already having gratifying responses of membership in the State associations, and our effort will be to arouse the indifferent women to a realization of the danger of having this additional burden thrust upon them by a minority. They must awaken from their apathy on this subject and express their opinion. Most women do not care for publicity or notoriety, although sometimes one would not think so to see the efforts of our opponents to gain both. The majority wish simply to do woman's work and not to be mixed up in politics or anything that looks like it. We who are the active workers share that feeling, but realize that we must go into politics temporarily to some extent to keep out of politics definitely.

The suffragists claim that the laws for women in the States having woman suffrage are better than in those where only men vote. This statement has been made constantly in print and on the public platform, in spite of our demonstration that according to the statute books the facts do not prove the case. In the future issues of this paper we shall give a detailed list of such laws in Colorado, where the suffragists claim they are

the best, as compared with the laws in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, where women do not vote. In the history of this country no class of laws has seen such improvement during the same period as has taken place in the legislation affecting women and children for the past ten years, and the improvement will go on just the same whether women vote or not.

We who are opposed to woman suffrage believe that women do not yet realize the enormous opportunities that have been given to them in the past forty years, and that they have not yet been able to adapt themselves to new conditions and do all the work which is now within their power. By throwing women into the arena of active politics and the holding of elective offices, with all that it implies, we are confident that neither women themselves nor the State will be benefited, but we earnestly believe that the serious purpose, ability and experience to be found among women in many walks of life should be used for the benefit of the community and that women of judgment and energy should be appointed on such educational, charitable, sanitary and reformatory boards, commissions and committees as the safest methods of utilizing their capacities and interest in the public welfare.

## WOMEN IN ELECTION.

THE New York Call, a leading Socialist paper, claims that 45 per cent. of the women's vote in the city election in Los Angeles, last December, was cast for Harriman, the Socialist candidate for Mayor.

In its issue for December 8, 1911, it has an editorial: "Women in the Los Angeles Election." In that it says, "Some 70,000 women or thereabouts took part in the election. In the first election, a month ago, in which the women did not vote, about 21,000 men voted for Harriman, the Socialist candidate. The election just closed shows about 52,000 of both sexes who voted the Socialist ticket. It is fair to assume that of this number the men did not add anything to their original number. On the contrary it was expected that this vote would be very considerably decreased by the startling result in the McNamara case, and undoubtedly for that reason the timing of the confession was regulated as far as possible. But even if we assume it had no effect in decreasing the male vote, the fact remains that over 30,000 women voted the Socialist ticket, or some 45 per cent. of the total number of women who voted.

And if it be assumed that the male vote was decreased 5,000, the number of women who voted Socialist was therefore fully half of the total number voting. On the whole, so far as Los Angeles can be taken as a criterion, the women have certainly overthrown the speculation as to their natural conservatism.

## QUOTE LAWS LONG DEAD.

MANY Suffragist speakers refer with great indignation to laws in different States which permit a man to will his children away from his wife, even, as they say, an unborn child.

Formerly, the Common Law of some of the States did have such a law on the statute books; but it has either been stricken off in recent years or superseded by laws which nullify this statute. One of the most celebrated instances was in South Carolina, where the law, considered obsolete, was brought to the attention of the Legislature by the Tillman case. When it was discovered that the law could be in operation it was promptly changed by the Legislature, and Governor Tillman did not get the grandchildren, willed to him by his son.

Another case often quoted is that of Washington, D. C.

The Senate, in 1896, passed bills introduced by Senator McMillan "To amend the laws of the D. C. as to married women,

to make parents the natural guardians of their minor children, and for other purposes." After short debates and practically no opposition laws were enacted in the Senate and House of Representatives that were advantageous to women in every way.

The law quoted sometimes by the Suffragists reads as follows: "That the *survivor* may by last will appoint a guardian of the person and property of any of the children, whether born at the time of making the will or afterward." Naturally the husband, if the *survivor*, cannot will an unborn child. We have looked carefully through the statute books to see if any such law as the Suffragists quote is now in active operation, and we cannot find one. If they can tell us where such a law exists we shall be glad of the information. In the present attitude of men toward women we have not the slightest doubt that Legislatures would be eager to rectify any such injustice to women.

#### USES DEATH TO ADVERTISE

A MOST extraordinary cartoon is printed in the Woman's Journal, the official suffrage organ, of April 27th. As an expression of bad taste it has seldom been equalled.

It must have hurt many women who believe in woman suffrage, but whose friends were lost on the Titanic, making, as it does, an advertisement out of the death of their loved ones. The claim that votes for women will cure the evils typified by the monsters in the water surrounding the ship we deny. Public opinion is already doing that, and women can have more influence in forming that outside of politics than in.

#### ANTI-SUFFRAGE PAPERS MERGE.

THE Anti-Suffragist, formerly published at Albany, N. Y., is to be discontinued, the April number being the last.

It has been merged with "The Women's Protest." The "Remonstrance," issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, will still be issued quarterly and can be obtained through the office of the Association, Room 605, Kensington Building, Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

SUFFRAGETTES of West Hammond, Ill., started a riot at the election a few days ago. They assaulted their political enemies and almost drowned one man, yet they elected a "Joan of Arc" as President of the Board of Education. "London has 'nothing on' us," they boasted after the election; "over there the women break windows; here we break heads!"

Surely education in West Hammond is looking up!

#### "INSURGENT HYSTERIA."

Noted English Physician Says Women Would Sacrifice their Physical and Moral Womanhood on the Sorry Shrine of a Ballot Box.

London.—Dr. Leonard Llewelyn Bulkeley Williams, M. R. C. P., one of the most distinguished physicians in England, has written a letter on the "suffragette" question to The Times which has attracted much interest and which most of the other papers here have copied, regarding it as of first-class importance.

The letter is headed "Insurgent Hysteria: What Every Doctor Knows." It is as follows:

"Sir: The leading article on 'Insurgent Hysteria,' which appears in your issue of to-day affords a timely insight into the real significance of some recent events.

"The writer says that physicians are familiar with the kind of patient

who is therein described. We are, indeed. But, though we may deplore her character and sympathize with her relatives, we await her advent with a sigh, for, when she has reached a certain age, we know that there is no help in us.

"In ordinary times she is the pike in the social carp pond, whose useful but sinister mission is to prevent the carp from becoming lazy-minded. The mediocrity who esteems herself an unrecognized genius, the superficially intelligent who demands the palm without the dust, the artistically uneducated who whimpers for the limelight so brutally withheld, the 'soul' who neglects her domestic duties in order to devote herself to the regeneration of a man-made world, are all types very familiar to the looking glass in every consulting room. They consist largely of the unclaimed; they are certainly irreclaimable.

"The danger is, not that these unlovely characters exist, but that they are now being manufactured in enormous num-

WHAT are regarded as the great prizes of life—fame, money and such showy things—are nearly all things geared to the powers of men. It is easy to measure the successes of men. They stand out in plain sight to be weighed and examined.

But the successes of most of the successful women are much less tangible. As a rule they are contributions to life as it passes—influence, care, nurture, direction, companionship—valuables of the highest order, but which finally appear, not as properties of the woman from whom they proceeded, but of the men or the children who received them, and the families and communities that they have blessed.

The evidences of the success of men stand on pedestals and hang on walls and are recorded in books and occupy safe-deposit boxes in bank vaults. They stretch across the country in the form of steel rails or copper wires, or stand as buildings in stone and steel. On every one of them is the woman's hand. In every one of them she has had her share. There is no success of any kind, no power, no progress, which is not half hers. But ordinarily she does not much appear; not, at least, in a degree at all commensurate with her importance. Her work is not expressed—not much—in things. It is made flesh.

Is that unjust to her? Is it unfair that man should seem to outdo her?

Who shall say what is fair and what not in the management of this universe? We flatter ourselves with the idea that the Almighty has chosen to express Himself in mankind. Admitting that, it is a daring critic who will assert that woman is disparaged because it is allotted to her to express herself in like fashion.—Edward S. Martin, Harper's Monthly for May.

MRS. THOMAS APPLETON, a prominent suffragist, of Seattle, Wash., visited New York recently to study political conditions here, and was interviewed by the "New York Herald."

"What is the name of the Mayor of Seattle?" asked the Herald reporter.

"Mr. Cottrell," said the woman.

"His first name?"

Mrs. Appleton looked puzzled and admitted she did not know his name, adding that it was singular, as the Seattle executive lived quite near her home. She also said she didn't vote for the Mayor.

Is Mrs. Appleton quite sure she exhausted the study of politics at home before coming so far afield?

Instead of being taught self-control and learning the satisfaction of good work well done, our daughters are being shown the worse way. They are being coaxed and drawn and even driven into the whirlwind of a movement of which illegitimate and lawless excitement is the essence, and in which credit is obtained only by screaming and scratching and wanton destruction. "It is time that parents and guardians realized what this means in the matter of the development of the characters of those for whom they are responsible. If there are to be no more Marthas in this country, and the Marys are ever and anon to punctuate their passion for fruitless contemplation of imaginary wrongs by wild outbursts of organized tarantism, sacrificing their physical and moral womanhood on the sorry shrine of a ballot box, then the lunacy laws will require revision. Yours faithfully,

LEONARD WILLIAMS.

—New York Times.

Harley Street, March 10.



## Woman and Government

### The Demand for Right, as Opposed to the Recognition of Duty in Relation to Government.

BY MRS. WILLIAM FORSE SCOTT.

"The old, old fashion, Death." Have the heedless agitators forgotten that a nation is an organized, sentient being, subject to death even as a man is?

It must be remembered that along with the demand for political enfranchisement goes a demand for social and industrial enlargement which ignores the conditions of sex.

We see in this demand not only a very wasteful political, social and industrial disturbance, but more — much more. We see a determination on the part of some women that all women shall think, feel, act, and be as nearly like man as possible. This inevitably involves, if successfully accomplished, the destruction of the nation and the decadence of the race. It has been tried again and again in the past, and we have only to read the past to learn that it is retrogressive in every respect. Only under primitive conditions have women been even superficially like men, and whenever an approach to identity of social functions has been made it has marked a period of decadence. Whenever in the past women have assumed the habits and conditions of men they have weakened, even destroyed, their ability to perform the specific duty of woman to the State by weakening the maternal instinct and disturbing the physical functions, with the result that they produce offspring of less than normal physical and mental endowment. No advance toward civilization is ever made until the specialization of the sexes, politically, socially and industrially begins.

I admit the proposition of the Suffragists that women have as much "right" to vote as men have; that is, if they could seize and hold the "right" the same as men have done. But we base our opposition to this alleged "right" upon the ground of duty, since it is clear to us that the institutions of State and family would suffer if women were to assume the labors and responsibilities of men in government. If they assume the powers they must also assume the responsibilities of government. Men have the right to vote because they have the power to secure their right, and the power to maintain the government they establish. On this foundation of physical force must all the right to govern ultimately rest.

I will admit even that women could by living the lives of men develop a physical strength which would enable them to fight—perhaps even to fight successfully against men. They did so in the past when the Mother Family prevailed. But I oppose the exercise of any such possible "right" on the ground of a positive duty, since fighting women will clearly degrade the race so long as a race might be maintained by fighting women. One-breasted Amazons were not successful mothers!

That women by persistent effort could so far alter the secondary sex characteristics as to acquire something of the intellectual weight and endurance of man is also to be granted. But again I must oppose any attempt to gain in this way an escape from sex limitations on the ground of duty because the education of young children (that is, the molding of the coming generation) can only be well done by femininely minded women. *And the highest intellectual development of woman is attained by a due respect for the qualifications imposed by sex.*

I will admit the "right" of women to be economically independent, "to go down into the pit and fight with men" for the daily wage, as one of the agitators picturesquely put it. But I oppose this right on the ground of duty, since men should bear the burden of the maintenance of women and children. It is only by carrying this responsibility that the masculine virtues

are developed and sustained, and it is only by immunity from physical labor which women would share with men should they go still further in competition with men in industry—only by exemption from heavy and detrimental toil that they can be fit to bear children normal in mind and body.

You will see that the claimants for political emancipation (plus social and industrial "equality") are demanding "rights" regardless of the price to be paid, *not by themselves*, but by those who come after them, while we are content to forego rights and even privileges for the sake of a national strength born of the spirit of personal responsibility. And while admitting the superficial claim to "equal rights" with men we vigorously deny the existence of such "rights" as absolute rights. Unqualified right cannot exist where two beings dwell together.

The claimants for suffrage urge the necessity of political representation for women. If this means anything it means that women must hold a sufficient number of official positions to counterbalance the official authority and influence of men. And that all interests of women, as women, shall be represented. If they demand representation for every personal interest it must be remembered that the childless woman cannot represent the mother. Every mother recognizes the blank negation of the childless woman to certain of her common places of experience. The unmarried woman cannot represent the married woman. The woman in the home cannot represent the woman in industry, nor the woman in industry the woman in the home. And so to make their most important reason anything more than a mere hypothesis we must assume that they intend, literally, to have all of the interests of women represented as *class interests* by women fitted by experience to represent them. We utterly deny, first the need, and second the wisdom of any such application of the principles of representation. The tendency of all this turbulent demand is to make the authority of the State replace an ever-failing individual responsibility and self-restraint. This wild development of the principle of representation shows the blood relationship of Woman Suffrage and Socialism.

There are revolutions which are truly revolutionary, as when a great reservoir gathers into its basin the wealth of waters until they overflow its spillway and carry enrichment to the valley below. But there are other revolutions, purely destructive, which are not due to the pressure of accumulated experience, but are precipitated by an artificial agency, as if a mischievous or evil person were to wilfully break through the restraining walls and so precipitate a ruinous flood upon the innocent valley.

The demand of some women for the "right" to legislate as well as govern is due largely to a failure to understand the nature of law. The law is accumulated experience. It is habit crystallized into custom. It is not in a legislative enactment—that is only a sign post to publish the law and a warning to those who would break or ignore the law—that is, the established custom. A legislative enactment which is not the expression of a public opinion is a "dead law"—dead from the moment of its enactment. It cannot be enforced. When the women cry that they must vote in order to make laws to control sweat-shop labor there is a perfect answer, that they have the making of such laws in their hands now. Who supports the sweat shop? The man or woman? You know it is the woman; and until she is willing to make her own garments no sweat-shop law can be enforced. Would the women vote to raise the wages of women? Who is responsible for the exodus of families from the home into hotels, the boarding-houses and apartments, where men perform much of the domestic service? Is it men or women? You know it is the women; and until women remove themselves from competition with men in industry, crippling the earning powers of the man, and themselves working in factory, office and shop for a lower wage than they might earn in domestic occupations, they will never raise the wages of women.

Would they vote to improve the living conditions of women? Who make the living conditions of the domestic intolerable,

as we are told by Suffragist and Socialist that they are? Is it men or women? You know it is women. Would they vote to decrease infant mortality? Is it due to men or women that the birth rate of the world is decreasing? You know that it is largely due to the choice of women; and while the birth rate decreases the death rate also decreases in all of the more civilized countries. Why? Because the men in laboratories are teaching the world how to save life. It is not due to the mother in the nursery. If you would be convinced make a house-to-house inspection of ice-boxes and cellars!

If women would govern, let them govern by determining the custom, as indeed they must, for good or ill, because, whether they wish it or not, they cannot escape the terrible responsibility of being the creators of the coming generation.

## Suffrage States Win by Default, Not Enthusiasm

### History of the Few Successes in the West Disproves Claim of the Suffragists—Mormon and Populistic Votes Have Chief Influence.

The claim that the spread of Woman Suffrage in the Western States has been due to its successful operation in those neighboring States where it had previously been on trial is not borne out by the facts.

Wyoming, the first State to give the ballot to women, was a territory at the time (1869). The population consisted of 7,219 males and 1,897 females. With its great area, its meagre population, its small proportion of females and above all its restricted territorial vote, no significant results could be credited to the female vote. Even now it is a sparsely settled State decidedly backward in industrial development and contains no cities. It must be admitted that after forty-three years of equal suffrage the results show no greater advance in morals and civilization than usually follows the change from pioneer life to that of a settled community.

Utah and Idaho have had Woman Suffrage since 1896. Woman Suffrage came into Utah through the influence of the Mormon Church, which saw in this a means of perpetuating that hierarchy. It has happened more than once that the votes of women in sufficient numbers to carry an election have been given to polygamists who naturally are women Suffragists as all Mormons are.

In Idaho also the Mormon influence is very strong and it is more than doubtful if the State could have been carried for Woman Suffrage without it.

In Colorado another element seems to have been instrumental in bringing about Woman Suffrage, though doubtless the large Mormon population of that State materially affected the result. Populism, which swept the West in the late eighties and early nineties, is responsible for Woman Suffrage in Colorado. That somewhat hysterical and sporadic movement speedily declined and died, but left behind this one child of its creation. The Populists had an equal suffrage plank in their State platform of 1892 and their victory was followed by the introduction of a suffrage bill in the State Legislature in 1893.

The following from the history of Woman Suffrage: "The equal suffrage bill was passed by a vote of 34 to 27 in the House and 20 to 10 in the Senate. Of the total of 54

votes for the measure 34 were Populist, 19 Republican and 1 Democratic. It is evident that the Populists were responsible for equal suffrage. This also appears in the counties which went Republican and Democratic gave a popular vote on the measure in the Fall of 1893. The majority of 471 against equal suffrage, while those that gave Populist pluralities rolled up a majority of 6,818 in favor."

A significant fact in this connection is that the total vote on the measure was only 65,249, while the total vote for Governor the preceding year was 93,756. In other words, the success of Woman Suffrage in Colorado was doubtless due to the default of the voters to express their opinion at the polls. This same indifference to the question involved or else a fatal confidence in the defeat of the measure on the part of a large number of voters was responsible for Woman Suffrage in the State of Washington and of California.

In November, 1910, at a regular election in Washington State, the number of votes cast on the question of Woman Suffrage was 81,575. Of this number 52,299 votes were in favor of the bill. The electorate of the State was estimated at 285,000, so that it will be seen that only a little more than 29 per cent. of possible voters registered their opinion, and that less than one voter in five favored it. In other words, it was default and not contagion that carried Washington.

In California, in October of 1911, at a special election called for the consideration of twenty-three amendments to the Constitution, the total vote on Woman Suffrage was 246,847, out of an estimated electorate of 600,000. Of this number 125,037, or about 20 per cent. of the whole electorate, voted in favor of the amendment. It is quite evident that in this State also the measure was carried by default. Of the twenty-two measures carried that day the Woman Suffrage amendment received the smallest majority, 3,587. M. B.

## Woman and Children First

BY WEX JONES.

Haul down our flag from the flaunting peak; let it droop from the half-high mast,  
While we bow our heads in sorrow for the thousand souls that have passed.

Our ship of pride is a thing of naught; she lies in the soundless deep;

Out of reach of berg or hurricane her thousand brave men sleep.

The sea hath taken her toll again, and a heavy toll she takes;  
And the sailor drowns, and far away the heart of the woman breaks.

We bow our heads in sorrow, but the creed in which we were nursed

Makes our pulses speed that the cry of our breed was  
"Women and Children First!"

Gone is the Titan that spurned the sea; gone are her thousand souls;

Over the steel and over the bones the fathomless ocean rolls.  
A league overhead drifts the icy death, enwrapped in its Judas mist,

Accomplice of traitor currents, it drifts as the currents list;  
And the smooth sea smiles as her ally lurks where the lordliest prizes are,

And laughs at the shock and the shuddering plunge—and the fragment of floating spar.

Curse the fawning sea, with her half-bared fangs! Let her do her treacherous worst—

She can't conquer the breed that dies by its creed of "Women and Children First!"—The N. Y. Journal,

## Women Do Not Want the Vote Despite Cry of Suffragists

Milwaukee Election on Educational Question Brings to the Polls a Paltry 3 per cent. of the Women Entitled to the Ballot—Hired Agents of Small Group of Agitators Make the Noise.

"Stand Up and Fight! Have Your Rights!"

This is the feminine cry that is to-day heard echoing all the way from bonnie old England, where it is oftentimes accompanied with a rain of brickbats, to Wisconsin and on to the shores of the Pacific. It is a clamor that is making itself heard, too, and it has caught the ear of the land. Thinking people are beginning to ask and to consider seriously if equal suffrage for the sexes in America is needed, if it is expedient, if it is just to the whole body of womanhood.

One important fact must be admitted in the beginning. This call for suffrage comes from a mere handful of women. Are they calling with the consent of the great body of their sisters? Does the call meet with the approval of the women as a whole? This is a most important phase of this question, for voting is a heavy duty—a task that men find onerous when they give the necessary time to the study and exercise of political rights—and it is neither fair, nor right, nor just to impose such a duty upon women, unless they should ask for it almost unanimously.

Then why not let the women speak for themselves?

Suffrage is not a question of tyranny, but a question of freedom. It is not a matter of choice, but a matter of duty. Suffrage is not a natural right, but a responsibility imposed by government. And in this connection two important things should be considered. First, if the majority of women want the ballot; second, if rule by men and women would be better than rule by men. It will require no argument to force the conclusion that rule by men would certainly be better than would be rule by men and this little group of clamoring women who are now marching over the land—paid agents, most of them—yelling "Votes for women."

This wail of unrest does not come from the homes which shelter the greater mass of contented women. But the cry is heard. Are they discontented with the government? Are they tyrannized? Do they threaten to rise to arms for additional rights? Then whence the clamor?

Militant women have invaded Wisconsin and have caught the attention of a certain class of their sisters, and these, with the support of a number of noted theorists and dreamers, are asking that the voters impose the ballot upon ALL women of the State. Scan the ranks of the Suffragettes and you will find there many of those same women who have been heard urging a score of "advanced" issues in the last few years. And upon closer inspection, you will find that those who talk the loudest, those who in many cities throw the bricks and commit the violent acts of lawlessness, are PAID devotees and notoriety seekers. They are not working for love of principle. And these leaders find some impulsive women ready to join this—or any other—movement which promises thrills in its pursuit.

It is owing to just such movements as suffrage that motherhood has lost so much of its charm to the young generation of women. We are surely drifting from the old standards that made the nation and the State strong. To view this situation cannot fail to alarm. This unrest of woman of to-day, this desire for activities outside the home, is one of the most pressing dangers of social life in America.

If women will be content to have the men exercise the prerogatives of government and will devote themselves to the home and the strengthening of fireside ties, then they will better benefit the family, nurture the sons and serve the state. Industrially, women to-day can enter all the trades and professions with no other handicap than her sex limitations. The ballot cannot aid her in this respect.

To place women on a suffrage equality with men would mean that she would have to surrender more than she would gain. All women would lose these special privileges and but a few would gain anything of which she would make use. These special privileges have been shown in an interesting way by an editorial in the Milwaukee Free Press and reprinted as "A Yard of Wisconsin Law" which has been given wide circulation in the State. With the equalization of the sexes there must follow the equalization of the law for the sexes.

At the election in Milwaukee on April 2d, a number of very important playground and social settlement (educational) issues were voted for. The women of the city were as much interested in these questions as they could be in any that could arise under any condition of suffrage. Mary Swain Wagner, president of the American Suffragettes, and all of her lieutenants, appealed to the women of the city to register to vote, as they had a full legal right and duty to do, in order to show the people of the State that the sex desired to participate in public affairs. What was the result? Less than 2,500 women in Milwaukee qualified by registering and not all of these voted on election day. There are about 100,000 women in that city whose DUTY it was to vote at that election. Less than 3 per cent. did so and it is fair to presume that this little band is identical with the little group of Suffragettes who are to-day telling the voters of every county in the State that women are demanding the ballot!

It is true that all men do not vote and there is opportunity for great improvement along this line as one of the greatest trials of politics to-day is this indifference on the part of some men. But the great majority of men do vote. What would be the result of equal suffrage? A 3 per cent. poll that would represent nothing more than an unrepresentative minority, in that the power and the expression of the womanhood of the State would be wholly lacking and silent. M.

## Suffrage and the Liquor Business.

History Shows the Woman's Vote Has Not Helped to Carry a Single Election for the "Drys."

The suffragists frequently put forth the claim that the closing of the saloon will come with the ballot in the hands of women. They reserve this promise for the "dry" sections of the country, welcoming the support of the brewer where that plan promises the most votes. Recently, while a woman suffragist was touring Kansas, telling the Prohibitionists of that State that only by giving the ballot to woman would prohibition be retained in the Sunflower State, another woman suffragist, Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict, of Wisconsin, was telling a New York suffrage audience that the brewers were not opposing the suffrage movement. Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, president of the Political Equality Association, said she welcomed the support of the brewers, and praised Mrs. Benedict for her work among the representatives of that interest.

All New York remembers the suffrage meetings held throughout the last summer in the rear of Gus Ruhlin's saloon in Brooklyn. Mrs. Ruhlin was president of the organization. Beer and cheese sandwiches and other things were served at the regulation price at the Ruhlin meetings, and upon at least one occa-



sion a "child prodigy"—a little girl—spoke on the suffrage questions in the rear room of the saloon. The suffrage ladies upheld Mrs. Ruhlín in her efforts, and the prohibition cry was put in cold storage for the present campaign in Kansas.

The president of the Equal Suffrage Association of Washington a Mrs. Smith, when visiting in Denver recently, declared that the women of Washington won the vote chiefly through the influence of the breweries of the State, specifically mentioning the Raimer Brewery of Seattle. Mrs. Smith said that the failure of the prohibition election in Denver convinced the liquor interests that they had nothing to fear from the woman's vote.

Not only did the liquor interests win in Denver, with the women voting, but the following spring, in every county election on the local-option question the liquor interests won.

Since women have been given the ballot in Washington several elections have been held on the local-option question, the liquor interests winning every one of them.

Los Angeles women voted heavily against prohibition last winter, and the prohibition organ of that State, "The Voice," printed letters in which the writers declared they had lost faith in woman suffrage after the prohibition election in Los Angeles. It is significant to note that the editor of that prohibition paper announced in the columns of his paper that he had been invited to speak for suffrage in the California campaign. He made one speech, in which he coupled prohibition with suffrage, and was never asked to make another speech! He asked why, and probably found an answer in the December election in Los Angeles.

Mrs. Shelley Tolhurst, a suffrage leader of Los Angeles, made a public speech, in which she declared that the saloon-keepers need not fear the woman's vote, while in San Francisco another suffrage leader declared that the suffragists would drink to their victory in California wine.

Not a single suffrage State is a prohibition State; and Mrs. Minnie Reynolds, press representative for the National Suffrage Association, recently challenged any one to find a word concerning prohibition among the pamphlets issued by the association.

The truth is, the suffragists are barking up every tree, backing each and every alliance that promises the vote, and knowing full well that the pledges they make are insincere and cannot be fulfilled. M.

## The Lesson That Came From the Sea—What it Means to the Suffrage Cause.

Thinkers Without Regard to Politics or Creed, See in it a Refutation of the Arguments of Agitators for the Ballot—It Points out a "Difference."

In the story that came up from the sea there are many lessons. One of those lessons is that when the final crash came men and women alike were unanimous in making the sex distinction. It was not a question of "Voters first," but the cry all over the ship was "Women first!" In acquiescing to that cry the women admitted that they were not fitted for men's tasks. They did not think of the boasted "equality" in all things. This is not an implication that the women are inferior, it just shows an inequality or a difference.

Much has been spoken and written by thinkers on this phase of the disaster and its influence on the eternal cry of some women to be allowed to take up the activities and responsibilities that belong to man just as woman's respon-

sibilities belong to woman. The disaster tends in its terribly grim way to point out the everlasting "difference" of the sexes.

Speaking of the sacrifice of the men aboard the Titanic, the Rev. Dr. Leighton Parks, of St. Bartholomew's Church, said, "The women did not ask for the sacrifice, but it was made. Those women who go shrieking about for their 'rights' want something very different. Put the world on a basis merely of 'rights' and you put it on an inclined plane where it will never stop until it has gone to the lowest level of barbarism and bestiality."

"These men gave up their lives in love, and in so doing they helped to pay the debt we all owe to the mothers who bore and reared us, to the sweethearts that have kept us pure, to the wives and friends who have suffered and sacrificed themselves for us."

Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, writing in the New York "Journal," an ardent suffrage paper, says:

"One would suppose that those women who are making it a part of their creed to lampoon the members of the other sex and to charge them with all kinds of wanton injustice and coarse barbarity, would wince a little under the superb courtesy accorded to them at the wreck of the Titanic."

"That men will stand back, and, with full knowledge that it means their own death, will, with tender consideration, purchase with their lives the rescue of the women who are aboard ship, is a refutation of the coarse charge hurled against them, which ought to bring the blush of shame and self-contempt upon the cheeks of every one of these cantankerous viragos who are doing so much to bring their sex into discredit."

"We are not arguing for or against the doctrines that are being exploited by these incriminating members of what from our youth up we have been taught to consider the gentler sex."

"But it would seem as though with such an exhibition of chivalry of the finest sort, as was evinced at midnight of April 15th, the great mass of our women, thoroughly feminine at heart, and soundly appreciative of the magnificent spirit of their masculine companions, would rise up in revolt against the vulgar aspersions cast upon us by their libelous and hysterical sisters."

"That they do not openly and concertedly resent the conduct of their defamatory leaders lays them under the implication of being of the same ilk and infected with the same virus, which we do not believe that they are."

"But people are estimated by the quality of their leaders, and for women to follow on unresistingly at the beck of a termagant argues that they have themselves been contaminated by a bacillus of the same order."

"Nothing would be so promotive of the interests of suffrage or be so likely to win for itself a place in the respect of intelligent and temperate ladies and gentlemen as for the main body of suffragists to decline the farther championship of rampant demagogues and put themselves under the conduct of women who are thoroughly women in manner and methods."

Commenting upon the subject editorially, The New York "Herald" says:

"But the suffragettes, who have been asking for equal rights for women, are using it as an argument that women should take their chances of drowning with the men, and in this they are at least consistent. On the other hand many women who are opposed to suffrage for their sex are also crying out against the sacrifice of male lives, under circumstances of heroism, and numerous letters have been received by the 'Herald' insisting that hereafter no preference be given."

"It is really a matter for men to settle for themselves, because the feeling that the weak, whether they vote or not, should be those first protected is deeply implanted by nature."

The suffragettes, by placing a plank in their platform abolishing the rule: 'Women and children first,' will probably make no headway so long as manhood shall endure."

Dr. Felix Adler, in a sermon following the disaster, also disagreed with the contention of the suffragettes. In part he said:

"It is necessary to emphasize this because some excellent women who are concerned for the equality of their sex with man have contended that the women should vote and have insisted on an equal number of men in the boats and an equal number of women. They have taken the idea of equality externally and mechanically; they have not understood the principle which Aristotle laid down, that wherever genuine equality existed no accidental inequality for the sake of the equality shall be offset by some counter act and corresponding inequality. It is the rule of the sea and the land, and it is regrettable that women should try to base their equality, which is ethical, on the assumed equality in physical strength."

Under the caption, "Miss Pankhurst's Silly Talk," the New York "Evening Post" says editorially:

"Only a matter of rule," says Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, of

the rescue of women on the Titanic, 'and there is no special chivalry about it.'

"Men of much use to the world perished in that catastrophe because their inherent chivalry compelled them to give way to women. But Miss Pankhurst is impudent enough to withhold credit for them. She wants to vote, she wants a voice in public affairs, she wants to hold public office, but she also wants a safe place in a life-boat at the cost of a useful man's life if she happens to be in a wreck, and she wants nothing to be said about chivalry afterward."

"What do the women survivors of the Titanic think of Miss Pankhurst and her views? What do they think of her coadjutor, Mrs. Mansel, who declares that 'the new woman would rather be without exceptional treatment'? Naturally, the British National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is alarmed. It announces to the public its regret 'that certain suffragists should have made the Titanic disaster a field of controversy.' But 'certain suffragists,' when they are not invading the vestibules of legislatures, bullying politicians or smashing windows, will continue to talk arrant and often wicked nonsense. Miss Pankhurst and her set had already hurt the cause for which they think they are laboring. Now they have given it another setback."

## SUFFRAGE DEFEATS.

"Conciliation" bill lost in House of Commons March 28th on second reading of the Suffrage bill by a vote of 222 to 208. MASSACHUSETTS.

March 20th, in the Senate, a motion to substitute the resolution for the adverse report was defeated by a vote of 17 yeas to 20 nays, including pairs.

April 2d, in the House, a motion to substitute the resolution for the report was defeated by a vote of 96 yeas to 116 nays, including pairs. The vote was on the resolution accompanying the petition of Miss Blackwell and others. The adverse reports on the other petitions and on the Governor's recommendation that the question be submitted to popular vote were accepted without a division.

## MARYLAND.

February 29th, the House, by a vote of 74 to 18, rejected the Campbell bill, which provided for State-wide woman suffrage through a constitutional amendment. The adverse majority was 13 larger than was given against a similar proposition two years ago.

## NEW JERSEY.

In the Senate the proposed suffrage amendment was defeated March 19th by a vote of 17 to 3.

## NEW YORK.

In the Senate, March 19th, a motion to strike out the enacting clause of the bill to submit the amendment was carried in committee of the whole 24 to 17. A motion to disagree with this action failed by a vote of 19 yeas to 21 nays. To pass the bill 26 votes were needed. In the Assembly a motion to disagree with the adverse re-

port of the Judiciary Committee received 68 yeas to 63 nays; but 76 votes were needed to pass the bill.

## VIRGINIA.

January 23d, the committee, by a practically unanimous vote, reported against the suffrage amendment.

January 29th, the Senate Committee reported unanimously against the amendment, and on February 8th the House rejected it by a vote of 85 to 12.

Constitutional Amendment to be submitted to the voters of Ohio in November.

Referendums to be submitted in November to the voters of Kansas, Wisconsin, Nevada, Michigan and Oregon.

## SUFFRAGIST LEADER ENDORSES FREE LOVE

Miss Ashley, Treasurer of National Suffrage Association, Recommends August Bebel's Book on "Woman."

Miss Ashley, the Treasurer of the National Woman Suffrage Association, has frequently written the weekly headquarters letter in the Woman's Journal (their national organ). In the issue of June 24, 1911, she said:

"Is there a common camp from which we can all march to demand the ballot? We who believe in the power and the destiny of the working class know that no possible common ground exists when the exercise of the ballot is an issue; the working man, jammed like the girls into the subway trains, should not vote as does owner of the subway train, nor should the fluttering girls vote as would the handsome ladies. Upon this point, there can be no 'room for doubt.'" I wrote to Miss Ashley for an explanation of this paragraph, and she proceeded in a letter to present her ideal of sex and class antagonism, as follows: "What I mean is this. When once women have the right to vote there will be no possibility that all women, or even a large part of them, will vote alike; they will not be able to unite because their class interests will be stronger than sex interests. The rich and the poor must see things through different glasses. But the point I want to bring out is that until we have the ballot the interest of all the women is to get it, rich and poor alike. Therefore, can't

## COMPLAINT OF SUFFRAGISTS.

The Woman's Journal, published by and in behalf of the suffragists, complains that advertisers will not use its columns because they believe the women suffragists do not marry and do not have children.

This is probably true, but it is a fact that the advertiser need have no such fear as to the readers of the Woman's Protest—it is part of their creed to rear families.

In the full and normal development of womanhood lie the best interests of the world. Let us labor earnestly for it; and, that we may not labor in vain, let us save women from the barren perturbations of American politics. — Francis Parkman.

we unite and work for it, since a united front would be so strong? And the question is, how can we get the working girls to come into our camp and fight together for the ballot. For instance, take an election. Let there be made a clear-cut issue between those candidates for the Legislature who stand for suffrage and those who don't. Let the list be in the hand of suffragists; then let every suffragist determine to defeat, wherever possible, any candidate who is against suffrage, no matter of what party, no matter what else he may stand for. He may promise great things for the working people; no matter, let the working woman defeat him. He may stand for all good things for property owners; no matter, let the rich woman work to defeat him. Let there be but one war cry—Suffrage.

"The other question as to what I mean by the destiny of the working class is simpler, because it is a definite theory that before long the working class will be the class in power, that the workers are the only people worth while; they will survive and will take possession of the world and of the wealth they produce; that they will be the only class, and every one must be of it to live at all. The aristocracy is gone; the middle class now rules; the working class will rule. All history shows this plan gradually working out. This is a distinct destiny in which all socialists and many others believe. In other words, we recognize that there are classes, that there is a class struggle and this is bound to be ended by the victory of the working class."

Miss Ashley carries on her socialist propaganda in the *Woman's Journal* of June 3. She states that "Our cities swarm with outraged, degraded, unfree women," and advises her readers to study the facts of social conditions "with an open mind," and especially recommends August Bebel's book on "Woman." This book is a translation from the German, and besides describing conditions that have never obtained in this country, it preaches the most radical socialist doctrines. I quote the following from one chapter called "Woman in the Future."

"In the choice of love, she is just as free as man. She woos and is wooed, and has no other inducement to bind herself than her own free will. The contract between two lovers is of a private nature as in primitive times without the intervention of any functionary, but it is distinguished from the primitive contract by the fact that the woman no longer becomes the slave of a man who obtained her as a gift or by purchase, and can cast her off at his pleasure. Human beings must be in

a position to act freely, where their strongest impulse is concerned, as in the case of any other natural instinct. No one has to give an account of himself or herself, and no third person has the slightest right of intervention."

To enforce his views, August Bebel quotes a woman writer as follows: "We all read without the slightest moral indignation, for instance, how Goethe again and again wasted the warmth of his heart and the enthusiasm of his great soul on one woman after another. Every reasonable person regards this as perfectly natural, precisely because a great soul is difficult to satisfy, and only the narrow minded moralist stops to blame him. But why then do you ridicule the great souls among women? Let us suppose that every woman were a Lucretia Floriani, that all her children were the children of love, but that those children were all brought up with true motherly devotion as well as with intelligence and good sense. Doubtless, the world would go on as before, and progress as before."

These quotations speak for themselves.  
ELLA BREHAUT.

#### ANTI-SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND

The performances of the English Suffragettes are sufficiently novel and dramatic, and therefore to find report at some length in the columns of American newspapers. The *London Times* describes their activity as having "a stereotyped form of broken glass," the Prime Minister's windows being usually first on the list. The example set by these few fanatical Englishwomen has been unexpectedly followed, and in a way humorously parodied by the extraordinary performance of a few Chinese women who cast off the restraints of the East at a bound, and, as Mr. Lang has said, not only taking off their bonnets but throwing them over the steeple, burst into the presence of the Chinese Assembly, and, to the surprise and consternation of the newly organized lawgivers in that ancient Empire, proceeded to inflict bodily violence upon them. These ladies were not content with breaking windows; but, if reports are to be trusted, they tore the garments of the legislators, scratched their faces and drove them panic-stricken from the hall. It must not be supposed, however, that the Suffragettes are having their own way in England. The opposition to them is widespread and is becoming more highly organized. At a great meeting recently held in Albert Hall, presided over by Lord Cromer, the reasons for opposing the extension of the suffrage to women were stated dispassionately and with dignity by the Lord Chancellor and by Mr. Lewis Harcourt. The Prime Minister was unable to be present, but sent a letter repeating his conviction that the pro-

posed measure would be a grave political mistake. One of the most striking addresses was made by Miss Violet Markham, who declared that the opponents of woman's suffrage did not depreciate in the least woman's work and mission, but are concerned only to find proper channels of expression for that work. She pointed out the fact that there is any amount of public work waiting to be done by women whose whole time is not absorbed by the needs of their own homes; social work, more fundamental and far-reaching than the political work which falls to man, is waiting to be performed, and has been overlooked and neglected by the great majority of women. Miss Markham put the question frankly, as only a woman would like to put it, whether it is not "humbbug" to talk about women having no share in the national life when only a small minority have shown practical interest or sympathy with the causes which concern the aged, the sick, the destitute, the erring and the salvation of little children—all causes which should go straight to the heart of every true woman. Mr. Harcourt declared that there is nothing to show that the demand for extension of suffrage has the approval of either of the majority of men in England or of the majority of women. Lord Curzon protested against the charge that the anti-suffrage movement is an anti-woman movement. He declared that they were not fighting the battle of educated women alone, but of the workingwomen of the country; and expressed his belief that the strongest opposition to the movement would be found among the workingwomen.—*The Outlook*.

#### ENTHUSIASM MARKS FIRST OPEN SESSION.

New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage Receives Greetings from the British League.

The first open meeting of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage was held in the Assembly Hall of the Engineering Societies Building, 29 West 39th Street, on Monday evening, April 15. There was an attendance of about 800, of which nearly a third were men. The speakers were Talcott Williams, Mrs. William Forse Scott and the Rev. Dr. Henry A. Stimson.

The audience seemed impressed with the dignity and seriousness of the arguments against suffrage as presented by the speakers.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, the chairman, read the following cablegram:

"Secretary New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

"British League send greeting to American Society who are fighting for sex and nation. Omens here most encouraging. American example invaluable. Please persist.

"Lords Curzon and Weardale, Presidents; Countess of Jersey and Catherine Robson, Deputy Presidents."



## Why the Suffragists Argue Their Case Before Congressional Committees

It is simply a Clever Scheme to Have the Government Circulate Their Literature—Pretty Fairy Tale is Exposed.

By JULIA T. WATERMAN

So many women throughout the country have been disturbed by the recent hearing in Washington before the Suffrage Committee of the Senate and the Judiciary Committee of the House on the question of Woman Suffrage, that for their benefit a statement of what the hearing before Congress really means is made here.

For many years the Suffragists have appeared in Washington to present their arguments, knowing that there was little chance that the Federal Government would change the Constitution of the United States and give all the women in this country the vote. They have appeared, apparently, for the purpose of advertisement, and as copies of the hearing have been printed by Congress and distributed throughout the country, they have attained their object.

The women opposed to suffrage have appeared but once before the committee, until this year. On February 13, 1900, the Suffragists made a special effort, as it was the year of Miss Anthony's eightieth birthday, and appealed to Congress to celebrate that event by changing the Constitution of the United States. At that meeting a small number of women opposed to suffrage appeared and a paper was read by Abraham Hewitt in which was presented the only argument considered necessary—that Woman Suffrage was a question for each State to decide for itself and that there was nothing to prevent suitable legislation in the different States, when public opinion should demand it.

Since then the Anti-Suffragists have sent letters to the Congressional Committees at the times the Suffragists have appeared before them. This year a few women from the District Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage appeared at the hearing and said a few words of protest.

Congress still seems to agree, as in many years past, that this is not a matter for the Federal Government to decide, and the committees probably will not report favorably.

The following letter is from Mrs. Julia T. Waterman, who appeared at the hearing:

"I once heard a woman defend as an inherent right, the right to 'make any statement she pleased.' I do not know whether the Suffragists would claim this as an inherent right or a privilege, but, in whichever light they regard it, they certainly make full use of it.

"In the Woman's Journal of March 30th appears a pretty little fairy story in which Miss Jane Addams figures in a charming light, helping a bewildered and frightened little Anti-Suffragist, whose 'zeal was superior to her knowledge,' to express herself before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington. Being such a pretty story, it is a pity that it never happened. The little anti (in the fairy story), overcome by so much benevolence to which she was unaccustomed, thanked Miss Adams and said: 'I did not know you could be so kind.' There were only three antis present, says the Journal, and they were, it is inferred, completely overcome by the array of talent and intelligence which they had come to oppose.

"In the interest of historical accuracy, I am regretfully obliged to relate what really occurred. Seated within a few feet of the speakers, I know whereof I speak.

"There were fifteen antis present, among whom was the wife of a member of the cabinet and several congressmen's wives.

"Mrs. Goodwin, the President of the District of Columbia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, wrote a protest containing five points, being authorized to do so in the name of the National Association. Owing to her enforced absence from the city, Miss Brehaut was delegated to read the paper. At the hearing two years ago the anti protest was read last, and there was no debate. On this occasion the Suffragists were allowed rebuttal, turning the occasion into a debate. Miss Brehaut is in the government service, understands politics and government methods, and has a thorough knowledge of the suffrage question, having written many articles on this subject during the last two and a half years. She makes no pretense of being a platform speaker, but the hearing, when published, will show the soundness of the arguments made by the anti representative.

"Miss Jane Addams did not at any time prompt Miss Brehaut, though no one doubts the kindness of her nature or her willingness to befriend any woman in distress if the occasion demanded. In this case no occasion demanded, and Miss Brehaut delivered herself of her few remarks without assistance from Miss Addams or any other Suffragist. On questioning by a member of the committee, I myself gave the number of members of the Massachusetts Anti Association, which Miss Brehaut failed to recall.

"Miss Brehaut did not make use of the expression of thanks attributed to her, and I can only explain the publication of such a purely imaginary story by supposing that politics is demoralizing in its effect on impressionable natures. In the words of Miss Brehaut, it may have been 'an illusion due to the exhilaration of the attenuated woman-suffrage atmosphere.'

"If there is anything 'pitiable' in this story, it lies in the evidence that women's political methods are similar to those of men; when arguments fail to convince, personalities enter in. An Anti-Suffragist (not Miss Brehaut) did speak to Miss Addams after the hearing, expressing her admiration for the dignity and fairness with which Miss Addams had presided and hoping that these qualities would be a feature of all future meetings.

"I feel sure that Miss Addams will verify the above statement as correct."

### WHAT WOMEN THOUGHT FORTY YEARS AGO IS TRUE TO-DAY

The following is the first petition ever sent to Congress against Woman Suffrage. It was presented in 1873.

Should the person receiving this approve of the object in view, his or her aid is respectfully requested to obtain signatures to the annexed petition, which may, after having been signed, be returned to either of the following named persons:

Mrs. General W. T. Sherman, Mrs. John A. Dahlgren, Mrs. Jacob D. Cox, Mrs. Joseph Henry, Mrs. Rev. Dr. Boynton, Mrs. Rev. Dr. Samson, Mrs. Rev. Dr. Butler, Mrs. Rev. Dr. Rankin, Mrs. B. B. French, Miss Jennie Carroll, Mrs. C. V. Morris, Mrs. Hugh McCulloch, all of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Senator Sherman, Mansfield, O.; Mrs. Senator Scott, Huntington, Pa.; Mrs. Senator Corbett, Portland, Ore.; Mrs. Senator Edmunds, Burlington, Vt.; Mrs. Luke P. Poland, St. Johnsbury, Vt.; Mrs. Samuel J. Randall, Philadelphia, Pa.; Mrs. Catherine E. Beecher, 69 West 38th Street, New York City.

Please attach to this paper for signature.

### THE PETITION OF THE UNDERSIGNED.

To the Congress of the United States, protesting against an Extension of Suffrage to Women:

We, the undersigned, do hereby appeal to your honorable body, and desire respectfully to enter our protest against

an extension of Suffrage to Women; and in the firm belief that our petition represents the sober convictions of the majority of the women of the country.

Although we shrink from the notoriety of the public eye, yet we are too deeply and painfully impressed by the grave perils which threaten our peace and happiness in these proposed changes in our civil and political rights, longer to remain silent.

Because, Holy Scripture inculcates a different, and for us higher sphere, apart from public life.

Because, as women we find a full measure of duties, cares, and responsibilities devolving upon us, and we are therefore unwilling to bear other and heavier burdens, and those unsuited to our physical organization.

Because, we hold that an extension of Suffrage would be adverse to the interests of the working-women of the country with whom we heartily sympathize.

Because, these changes must introduce a fruitful element of discord in the existing marriage relation, which would tend to the infinite detriment of children, and increase the already alarming prevalence of divorce throughout the land.

Because no general law, affecting the condition of all women, should be framed to meet exceptional discontent.

For these, and many more reasons, do we beg of your wisdom that no law extending suffrage to women may be passed, as the passage of such a law would be fraught with danger so grave to the general order of the country.



"HER MOTHER'S VOICE."

## The Woman's Protest

1912

*The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage*  
29 West 39th Street, New York City

Enclosed find \$.....for.....years subscription  
to *The Woman's Protest*.

Name.....

Street.....

City.....State.....

Subscription Rate \$1.00 a year

Make checks payable to The Woman's Protest

## The New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

(FOUNDED 1895)

### PAMPHLETS.

Woman and the Law *By Francis M. Scott*  
Address Before Constitutional Convention, 1894

First Address Before the New York Legislature, 1895 *By Hon. Elihu Root*

The Problem of Woman Suffrage *By Mrs. Francis M. Scott*

Woman's Rights in America *By Mrs. Caroline F. Corbin*

A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question *By Miss Emily P. Bissell*

Wages and the Ballot *By Mary Dean Adams*

Should We Ask for the Suffrage? *By Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer*

How Women Can Best Serve the State *By Mrs. Barclay Hazard*

The Blank Cartridge Ballot *By Rossiter Johnson*

Taxation and Suffrage *By Frederick Dwight*

Real Opponents to the Suffrage Movement *By Edward W. Bok*

The Relation of the Sexes to Government *By Prof. Edward D. Cope*

Do Working Women Need the Ballot? *By Adeline Knapp*

Address—Covering Conditions in Countries Where Limited *By Mrs. A. J. George*

Woman Suffrage Prevails *By Helen Kendrick Johnson*

Woman's Progress Versus Woman Suffrage *By Richard Barry*

What Women Have Actually Done Where they Vote *By Mrs. William Forse Scott*

Woman's Relation to Government *By Miss Alice Hill Chittenden*

The Inexpediency of Granting Suffrage to American Women *By Mrs. Francis M. Scott*

The Legal Status of Women *By Prof. Dr. Melchior Palagyi*

Feminism *By Miss Minnie Bronson*

Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation *By Grace Duffield Goodwin*

Woman Suffrage in Finland *By Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

New Zealand and Australia from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View *By Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

The Voice of the People *By Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

Suffragists Desert Philanthropy *By Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law *By Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary

at the office of the Association, 29 West 39th Street, New York

City, Engineering Societies Building.

Complete set 50 cts. Single copies 5 cts.

### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING:

Ideals and Realities (first four essays are against suffrage)

*Frederic Harrison*

What's Wrong with the World? *G. K. Chesterton*

The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00) *Molly Eliot Seawell*

Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25)

Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) *Grace Duffield Goodwin*

Woman and the Republic (25c.) *Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations. These can be obtained by applying to

the Woman's Protest.

(Continued from page 2.)

women, because they are fighting your fight as well as their own (Applause and cheers). I say, get out of the judgment seat into the dock, let us see what you are doing to bring about woman's suffrage. \* \* \* There is something for you to do. Are you doing it? If you don't do your duty, then there are women ready to take up the work that those British women are doing, right here in your own country. (Prolonged applause).

In Chicago, last month, Dr. Jessie Murray, of London, addressed a meeting of the Woman's Party. In her address she said:

"It has reached the stage of a civil war. People have asked why we do not substitute bombs for bricks. If our demands are not acceded to soon, I assure you bombs will be used."

